1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

riverain and deltaic swamps into which they moved following the establishment of Brooke rule. Some of these down-river communities have been subjected to prolonged European contact which has profoundly modified their way of life. However, the majority of the Iban still live from fifty to a hundred miles from the coast in hilly country that is drained by fast-flowing rivers. Most of these hill tribes have been little influenced by the West and remain pagan and pre-literate. It is with these Iban of the hinterland that this report is chiefly concerned.

This report then, is primarily an account of Iban methods of shifting dry rice cultivation in pioneer areas. It is important to note that it deals—in particular—with conditions existing in the Baleh, and with the social behaviour and customs of the Ulu Ai Iban inhabiting this region. This means that proper safeguards must be observed before applying any of the findings of this report to other Iban areas. Nevertheless, the systems it describes are generally typical of most pioneer areas (i.e. areas where virgin jungle is still being felled and farmed), and probably of about fifty to sixty per cent of the Iban population of Sarawak.

Iban agriculture and Iban methods of land utilization can only be understood in relation to the various corporate groups that characterize Iban society. For this reason this report begins with a brief account of the principal features of Iban social organization. However, these introductory paragraphs are no more than the most summary of prolegomena to the sections dealing with agriculture and land usage that follow. A comprehensive analysis of Iban social structure is being prepared for publication.

Again, because of limitations of space, only passing reference has been made to the elaborate *padi* cult upon which Iban agriculture is based. Upon this fascinating and important subject I was able to collect a great mass of material and it is my intention to discuss it fully in a separate monograph, which will stand as a companion study to the present report. As Haddon truthfully observed: "It is characteristic of the Iban . . . . that the whole of their life is permeated with religious conceptions, and indeed no distinction can be drawn in their daily life between technical and religious operations: they are equally necessary." Certainly, it is only when the inter-dependence of economics, social organization and ritual is understood that there can be any genuine appreciation of the nature of Iban agricultural practice.

This report is concerned with a single aspect of Iban life: their system of agriculture. This was, of course, but one of the many topics studied during the period of my field work and in due course papers and monographs on many other facets of Iban society and culture will be prepared for publication.

I would like to express my appreciation of the many ways in which the Government of Sarawak facilitated my research work, and I am especially grateful to His Excellency, Sir Anthony Abell, K.C.M.G., for his action in approving an extension of my tour so that I might complete certain studies of Iban religion and pay brief visits to parts of the Second Division.

It is difficult to speak too highly of the hospitality and assistance given to both my wife and myself during our stay in Sarawak. In particular our gratitude is due to: Mr. and Mrs. B. Baughman (Methodist Mission, Kapit), Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Drake-Brockman (D.O., Kanowit), Mr. T. Harrisson, Mr. R. W. R. Miller (Director of Agriculture), Mr. and Mrs. W. Nias (N.O., Sibu and Betong), Mr. A. J. N. Richards, Mr. P. Ringkai, Mr. P. Smith (D.O., Kapit), Mr. I. A. N.

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

hours (depending on the state of the water) from the main long-house. At Rumah Tungku, in the Sungai Tiau (a long-house of 50 *bilek* families), the farms were dispersed over an area of about 15 square miles, and the majority of them could only be reached by canoe. Similar conditions prevailed at most of the other long-houses which I visited, and had any of them been selected as a site for research, it would have been extremely difficult to have obtained a comprehensive view of the farming activities of the whole community. Rumah Nyala presented me with the great advantage of being able to move about at will, and the most distant of the farms could be reached in a tramp of about three hours. Another important consideration was that at Rumah Nyala a wide variety of different land was being cultivated, so that I was able to observe the felling and farming of primary, and many different types of secondary jungle, and to make valuable comparisons.

66. Iban agriculture, as may have become apparent, is an extremely complex subject. In particular, it is complicated by elaborate ritual acts and concepts which are all elements of cardinal importance. Throughout the agricultural cycle ritual and labour are inextricably interwoven. Every stage in the actual cultivation of the *padi* is accompanied by rites which, in Iban eyes, are vital to the success of a crop. This continuum is a formidable labyrinth of diverse elements, and its complexity poses difficult problems in description and presentation. For the purposes of this report, I propose to begin with a discussion of settlement patterns, and then pass on to the *padi* cycle, and the techniques employed by Iban cultivators. Other sections will be devoted to the economics of agriculture, and methods of land usage. In the course of the discussion, frequent reference will be made to the magico-religious beliefs and practices of the Iban, but no more than passing reference. On the *padi* cult of the Iban I was able to collect a great mass of information, for it is still a living reality. I plan to deal fully with this most important and fascinating subject in a separate monograph, which will stand as a supplement to this present report. It must constantly be borne in mind however, that all these elements are integral parts of a single process; indeed, only when the inter-dependence of economics, social organization and ritual are understood can there be any genuine appreciation of the nature of Iban agricultural practice.

Shifting Cultivation and Settlement Patterns

67. Shifting cultivation may be briefly defined as an economy of which the main characteristics are "rotation of fields rather than crops; clearing by means of fire; absence of draft animals and of manuring; use of human labour only; employment of the dibble stick . . . . ; short periods of soil occupancy alternating with long fallow periods."[1]

68. The practise of shifting cultivation means that each family unit requires for its subsistence an extensive area of land. When working in virgin jungle it is usual for the Iban to cultivate half or more of a farm for two years in succession, but with rare exceptions a proportion of new forest is felled each year. In secondary jungle, on the other hand, it is normal for the whole of the farmed area to be abandoned after one crop has been taken. Iban methods of land usage, as will be explained presently, are complex, but when land is finally allowed to revert to secondary growth, it is left for as long as possible, and this is often for a

[1] K. J. Pelzer, "Pioneer Settlement in the Asiatic Tropics: Studies in Land Utilization and Agricultural Colonization in Southeastern Asia," New York, 1945, p. 17. ("Other terms for shifting cultivation are field-forest economy and field-forest rotation").

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

X531 patterns, and in such cases there may be no recognized general name for them. To take one example, a zigzag has its own name, *lelingkok*, but it is often termed *semerai sungai*, which implies the conception of going in a canoe from one bank of a river to the other so as to avoid or make use of stronger currents. It has also been described as the movement or progression of a snake.

X531 The vast majority of the names in our collection, as well as all those on the ●128 specimens in the British Museum, were collected by Dr Charles Hose and naturally we have accepted these as accurate, but either he or the persons whom he employed made variations in the spelling of a given word; usually we could ascertain the most common or likely variant and in some cases we adopted instead the spelling of the word given by the authors of the *Sea Dyak Dictionary*, as that must be regarded as authoritative.

In many cases, but by no means in all, a translation was given by Dr Hose of the native name—sometimes literally, sometimes freely—these we have copied and printed in quotes. Occasionally the translation of a word differed from that given in the *Sea Dyak Dictionary*; these cases have usually been noted by us. Unfortunately there are many native names for which we cannot find a translation; they are given as written by the transcribers. Translations by us are printed without quotes.

128 Originally the labels were pinned on to the cloths in what was intended to be their appropriate position, but even so, on account of the relatively large size of the labels it is not always apparent to which design or what part of it the label applied. Subsequently numbers written on tape to correspond with the labels were sewn on to the cloth by Mrs Haddon, who took great care to retain the original position of the labels. In some cases there evidently was a mistake in the original position of a label. These sources of error are not quite so serious as might be feared, since we have such a large number of names on different cloths that checking is almost always possible. We venture to hope that few mistakes due to these causes have been perpetuated by us.

A card catalogue of drawings of every design bearing the same name was made, and the most typical examples in each group were selected and have been included in pls. I to XXV.

Our procedure in the following pages is to give the weave, colour and methods of producing the patterns of a considerable number of individual

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

cloths, and in the case of the jackets how they were constructed. The patterns and designs are described and illustrated as copiously as space permits, and we have added what information we have been able to find with regard to their significance; very rarely have we hazarded suggestions of our own.

We gratefully thank those Museum authorities who have afforded us opportunities for examining the cloths under their charge and the various unknown Iban who have given information. We feel that especial thanks are due to the late Dr Charles Hose for having supervised the identification of the designs on the cloths that have formed the basis of our study; the help afforded by these names has been invaluable.

The cloths themselves, together with the photographs and sketches made in Sarawak, are placed in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology and are available to those who would like to consult them.

We candidly admit that we are merely pioneers in this investigation and it remains for others who can interrogate the Iban themselves to confirm, modify, or correct our provisional statements and to enter more deeply and securely into the motives that lie behind these expressions of Iban aestheticism.

The admirable compilation *The natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo* (1896), by H. Ling Roth, has been of very great assistance to us, especially his chapter XVII. His *Studies in primitive looms* (1918) is invaluable, as it is based on his own investigations. We have quoted with due acknowledgment from various authors whose observations have elucidated our subject and to those whose names are most frequently mentioned we offer our thanks. Particular mention should be made of the excellent *Sea Dyak Dictionary* by the Rev. W. Howell and D. J. S. Bailey, to which we have so often referred under *S.D.D.*, and we have found their English-Sea Dyak Vocabulary useful.

14: Howell M-5 (ca. 1900) 1900 OC6 Iban OC6

Adjectives.

An adjective must follow its substantive, as *orang brani*, a brave man; *orang badas*, a good man. 193

Degrees of comparison are expressed by the addition of adverbs as *agi*, *lebih*, *bendar*, *pemadu*, *korang*, *nadai*. Thus: *brani*, brave; *brani agi* (or *lebih brani*), braver; *brani bendar* (or *pemadu brani*), bravest; *korang brani*, less brave; *nadai brani*, least brave.

Adverbs.

Adverbs are placed either before or after their verbs, as, *iya bejalai dras*, or *iya dras bejalai*, he walks fast; *iya landik bejako*, or *iya bejako landik*, he talks fluently.

Articles.

There are no articles in Dyak which correspond with our definite article *the* and indefinite articles *a*, *an*. *Ukui*, dog, *manok*, fowl, signify equally *the* dog and *the* fowl.

Personal Pronouns.

Singular.
- *Aku*, I.
- *Nuan*, or *Di*, you.
- *Iya*, he, she, it.

Plural.
- *Kami*, we (excluding the person addressed.)
- *Kitai*, we.
- *Kita*, ye.
- *Sida*, they.

Possessive Pronouns.

The possessive pronouns are expressed by the words *empu* and *enggi*. Thus *aku empu*, or *enggi aku*, mine. *Nuan empu*, or *enggi nuan*, yours. *Iya empu*, or *enggi iya*, his, or hers. Similarly also with the plural.

Relative Pronouns.

There is only one relative pronoun *ti* (the other forms are *ki* and *kai*), who, which, that. *Burong ti siga*. A bird that is wild. *Raja ti lurus*. A king who is just. *Utai ti iya empu*. The things which belong to him.

Demonstrative Pronouns.

The demonstrative pronouns are *tu*, this, and *nya*, that. *Tu anak aku*. This is my child. *Nya anak iya*. That is her child.

In giving examples of the use and meaning of the Dyak words we have drawn upon the undermentioned sources: (I) published Dyak works, (II) well-known sayings or proverbs *(ensumbar jako)*, (III) incantations, or, as in the majority of the examples given, have (IV) composed sentences in which we have endeavoured to shew how a word is commonly used or its meaning by the context. 128

14: Howell M-5 (ca. 1900) 1900 OC6 Iban OC6

128 193 I. In arranging words in this Dictionary we have thought best to give first, the *root form*, which may be substantive, adjective, adverb, etc., etc., or the imperative mood of a verb, and after it, in a bracket, the *verb form* (v.f.), showing the change a verb undergoes when it assumes the mutilated prefix (of which the Malay forms would be *me—*, *men—*, *meng—*). The only other forms a verb possesses are (I) the passive, and sometimes, (II) the intransitive. Both of these would be formed from the root. In the former case (I) by prefixing *di*, in the later (II) by prefixing *b*, *be—(ber—)*; examples of the latter are *occasionally* included in the v. f. bracket, thus: *ban* (v. f. *man*; *beban*), and *gawai* (*begawai*).

193 II. The following table shews the usual changes that occur to the *root forms* of verbs when they assume a prefix (v. f.).

[NOTE.—There are certain few exceptions].

VERBS WHOSE *root forms* COMMENCE WITH—

A prefix *ng*, *as* adar, ngadar.
B change *b* into *m*, *as* bangkit, mangkit.
Ch change *ch* into *ny*, *as* chenaga, nyenaga.
D change *d* into *n*, *as* diang, niang.
E prefix *ng*, *as* empong, ngempong.
G prefix *n*, *as* gali, ngali.
I prefix *ng*, *as* insur, nginsur.
J change *j* into *ny*, *as* jeluta, nyeluta.
K change *k* into *nge*, *as* krat, ngerat.
L prefix *nge*, *as* lalu, ngelalu.
M prefix *me*, *as* mut, memut.
N undergo no change.
P change *p* into *m*, *as* pangkong, mangkong.
R prefix *nge*, *as* ruboh, ngeruboh.
S change *s* into *ny*, *as* sagi, nyagi.
T change *t* into *n*, *as* turun, nurun.
U prefix *ng*, *as* unsut, ngunsut.

III. Tense is expressed by the addition of the following auxiliary verbs: *udah*, *nyau*, *deka* or *ka*, and *bisi*. The present tense, *Aku makai*, I eat. The past tense, *Aku udah makai*, I have eaten. The future tense, *Aku deka* (or *ka*) *makai*, I shall eat. *Bisi* is the past emphatic: *Aku bisi makai*, I did eat.

[NOTE.—This however is only the case when *bisi* precedes a verb; when it precedes a substantive it signifies to have. Thus, *aku bisi pemakai*, I have food].

IV. There are some nouns formed from verbs by prefixing the syllables *pe*, *pen* or *peng* to the root form of the verb, as *pemakai* from *makai* to eat; *pendian*, an abode, from *dian* to stay, etc., etc., but the student should be cautious about forming such nouns *without authority*.

17:Bedford D-5 (1958) 1959 OC6 Iban OC6
Rumah Bujak

Living as they do near the bazaar, contact with it has necessarily influenced the way of life of these people considerably. All the men have short hair and many of the women have waves. They wear a Malay type of dress or European clothes.

The majority of the people in the house profess Christianity. The majority of children in the house have for many years attended the mission school in Simnaggang. The majority of people in the house are able to read and write. Several members have attained a fairly high standard of education and are employed in Government Service.

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To summarize the background briefly: Rumah Bujak is an average longhouse in the lower Batang Lupar as regards position, standard of construction and state of cleanliness. The people have attained a high level of prosperity on Sea Dayak standards. As a result their standard of living is way ahead of longhouses in many other areas of the Second Division.

DIETARY SURVEY

Method

As a sufficient proportion of the population of the house were able to write, each room was asked to keep a diary of everything they ate and drank at every meal for one week, starting on the 23rd March, 1958. At the end of this period the results were collected and the weight likely to be consumed by an average adult male was assigned to each food commodity. The estimate for rice was the most accurate since it is customary at this longhouse to measure the rice used for each meal in cigarette tins full. A portion of rice cooked for each meal is wasted but as this must be very variable no allowance was made for it; so that as rice forms usually a high proportion of the daily food intake (see below) the results will tend to err on the high side. An attempt was made to estimate the weight of other food commodities consumed without bias, so that errors would be mutually exclusive and not cumulative.

Having estimated the weight of each food commodity, its protein, fat, carbohydrate and calorie content was calculated from

17:Bedford D-5 (1958) 1959 OC6 Iban OC6
Rumah Bujak

one food table (F.A.O. Nutritional Studies No. 3) and its iron content from another (McChance and Widdowson, 1946). An exception was the iron content of rice which was give the value reported by Rosedale for hulled Malayan rice (Rosedale, 1939). The food values for peculiar local foods were calculated from the nearest equivalent in the tables. Where this was not possible (e.g. for certain fruits and vegetables) the values under unspecified food (tropical areas) and unspecified fresh vegetables were used.

The daily intake of protein, fat, carbohydrate, iron and calories was then estimated for each of the seven days for an average adult male of each door and from this the average daily intake of protein, fat, carbohydrate, iron and calories and the range for each value was estimated.

Finally the percentage protein, fat, carbohydrate, iron and calorie intake obtained from rice was calculated.

Results

The results obtained from 25 rooms were accepted for analysis. Those obtained from 2 rooms were rejected because they were thought to be incomplete. Three rooms did not take part in the investigation because they were not in the longhouse at the time when it was carried out. Table I sets out one of the poorest diets analysed. Table II sets out one of the best diets analysed. Table III sets out the most monotonous diet in the series. The average, maximum and minimum daily intake of proteins, fats, carbohydrates, iron and calories for an adult male in each room is set out in Table IV. Table V shows the proportion of the daily food intake obtained from rice.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

INTRODUCTION

121 The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze the Ibans of the Sibu District of Sarawak against the background of Sibu Town,[1] a developing administrative center and entrepot. Historically, there has been a close relationship between the growth of the Iban population in the district and the development of the town, and it is impossible to understand the one apart from the other.

[128] This study attempts to contribute to the growing and much-needed literature on urbanization in Southeast Asia, and in Part I we deal with the factors involved in Sibu's rise as an urban center. While some excellent works have been done on urbanization in Africa, India, Latin America and East Asia, and on Southeast Asia in general, the region is wanting of detailed studies of urbanization as a form of adaptation. Precisely because urbanization is a form of human adaptation, it cannot be defined by residence patterns alone or by delineation of boundaries between urban and rural areas. In the activities of market

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[1] Hereinafter, unless otherwise indicated, Sibu refers to the town.

/2/ trade and administration, new values are disseminated, people perceive new orientations to power structures, and concepts of time and space are changed as well as settlement patterns.

The recent take-off of Sibu as an urban center and the contemporary movement of Ibans into the town, whether temporarily or more permanently, permit us to deal with a number of questions that have been raised with regard to urbanization in Southeast Asia. For example, what are the effects of urbanization on indigenous society and culture? Is the in-migration of indigenes resulting from and in structural and cultural changes, and if so, what is the nature of these changes? What is the effect of urbanization on traditional and neo-traditional institutions, such as the family, kin-group, longhouse community and form of marriage? What are the factors involved in the decisions of indigenes to move to urban areas? What is the nature of interaction between members of different ethnic groups in rural and urban contexts?

[128] In Part II we shall analyze the adaptation, social organization and culture of the Ibans of this district. While there are many similarities between the Ibans who are subjects of this study and those of the Sut described by Freeman (1955; 1970), there also are important differences reflecting in part the earlier time when Freeman's study [177] was made, and in part the disparate settings. Unlike the far more isolated Ibans of the Sut, who are today in many respects as Freeman

such as paying annual taxes, buying radio and bicycle licenses, requesting aid for padi planting, and legitimizing his land holdings.

C. Sibu as an Entrepot

In Chapter One we discussed the economic bases upon which Sibu has been built, together with the major phases in its development. In the last chapter, we described the immigration of the Foochow community and its domination of Sibu's commerce. We turn now to consider briefly the rise and characteristics of Sibu as a center of trade, for lacking any significant industrialization, the town and its residents have been largely dependent upon the import and export business.

By 1880, or eighteen years after the founding of Sibu, Hokkien traders had built two rows of forty shophouses each along what now is Channel Road. Taking advantage of the protection offered by the Fort and its force, the traders established their business of exchanging cloth, salt, hardware and valuables for jungle produce from the rich Rejang hinterland.

In 1903, the first Foochow shophouses were built on Channel Road, where a disastrous fire in 1898 had destroyed almost all of the former shophouses. Some of the Hokkien shopkeepers rebuilt and continued to do business with members of their own dialect group, Ibans and Malays. The Foochows at first tended to do business solely among themselves.

undoing of group interests.

In this chapter we shall analyze certain aspects of Iban culture, as a system of practices, values and beliefs, which is shared among members of the society. There are some aspects of Iban culture which are shared by majority of the members, but there are dissimilarities as well in some norms, ideals and goals of the Ibans who have moved into the pasar and those who have remained in their rural communities. Iban culture has been affected through the contact of its practitioners with the cultures of other groups and through the mediating influences of the urban center. The analysis in this chapter aims to indicate those areas in which Iban culture is being affected most, and those aspects that are most resistant to other influences.

A. Self-Sufficiency

In Chapter Five, we described the importance of independence and the early training and orientation which Iban children receive in enculturation of this value. Independence-training, however, is but a single facet of a larger value which we may term self-sufficiency that includes a number of other ideals.

Through the process of enculturation, the Iban introjects the demands of his elders and peers that be be adequate to all of the demands of his roles as farmer, adventurer and community member. By word and example, boys and young men are taught the skills and courage required of them to be fully productive and participating members of society. Similarly, girls

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

deriving therefrom; cooperation for the benefit of the group and competition for maximization of individual situations; the ideal of the equality of the self vis-a-vis others; the encouragement of mobility and opportunism through speech and example; and an activistic approach to obtaining good luck in their undertakings, many Ibans have found in their traditional culture values which have been pre-adaptive for their participation in modern society. Some have related to modern society through adjustments in behavioral patterns in rural areas. Others have entered the pasar, where despite numerous changes, they still have maintained their ethnic identity.

We now will consider the characteristics of those Ibans who have moved into the pasar, together with brief biographical accounts of four individuals who have been selected as being representative of those who retain their residence in the rural areas and commute daily to Sibu, and those who have moved into Sibu for work and study.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

IBANS IN TOWN

A. Commuters and Residents

In recent years the proportion of indigenes in virtually all the Southeast Asian cities and provincial towns has increased. In most instances this reflects the increasing movement of indigenes to the urban areas rather than the decline of alien groups, such as Chinese, Indians and Europeans. The factors involved in such in-migration vary from case to case, and the intensity and frequency of interaction between members of the same and different ethnic groups show a considerable range. From available data, one factor that predominates in the in-migration of indigenes is the quest for employment and wages. The interaction between members of the same and different ethnic groups range from what may be described as minimal contacts in some situations to high intensity and frequency to others. In this chapter, we shall examine the factors relating to the in-migration of Ibans to the Sibu pasar, and through the use of biographical accounts examine the patterns of interaction that have emerged.

Within the past decade the Iban population in the Sibu pasar and

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

128 In the Introduction to this study, questions were raised about the effects of urbanization on indigenous societies and cultures. In light of the foregoing data we are now prepared to draw conclusions about effects the emergence of Sibu as an administrative center-cum-entrepot have had on the Ibans.

177 The growth of Sibu into a bustling urban center has had a profound influence and powerful impact on the Ibans of the Sibu District and Third Division. From the time of the establishment of Fort Brooke and the forced settlement of recalcitrant Ibans under supervision of its staff, Sibu has grown in importance upon the cognitive maps of Ibans, so that today it is a center to which they repair when funds and time permit. The frequent contacts and long associations with Malays and Chinese, the other principals of the area, have led to social and cultural exchanges from which all have emerged as borrowers.

195 The Brooke strategy of population control through the construction
657 and staffing of forts at key points was highly effective in suppressing
177 traditional Iban practices of migrating and head-hunting. The forced settlement of some Ibans and the voluntary settlement of others who sought refuge from their predator peers were of immense importance in